THE NEW REPUBLIC

Coasting with Ike

William Costello on Nixon in '56

The Real TV Scandal

by Eve Merriam

Our Expensive Slums

by Oscar H. Steiner

Buy-Americanism

An Editorial

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

The Gang-Up Against Williams

★ The gang-up against Mennen Williams in Michigan deserves to be studied. It is a classic example of political assassination by malapportionment.

By any normal standard Williams should now be a leading Democratic Presidential contender. He has been elected governor six times in a formerly Republican bailiwick. But he is on hardly anybody's Presidential list because a rotten-borough State Senate – in which Republicans from malapportioned rural counties act like a petty House of Lords – have smeared him as a "New Deal spendthrift."

Why is he called "spendthrift"? Because the big state is near bankruptcy. It is near bankruptcy, all right – but this is because the same Republican-packed Senate refuses to vote appropriate taxes.

Malapportionment is the rule in the state legislatures all over America. The target is the cities; the cities are the suckers. Michigan rural legislators have gleefully used the weapon to knock off a Presidential candidacy. Study Michigan and see how it works.

In Michigan, Democratic Wayne County (Detroit) has two-fifths of the state population – only one-fifth of the State Senators. Other Michigan cities are massively short-changed in the same way. The veto-wielding Republican Senate is packed by conservative farm counties. The cows outvote the people.

Michigan has plenty of money. It is the sixth wealthiest state. It ranked fourth in tax revenues in the 1959 fiscal year. In Williams' 10 years expenditures have risen 88 percent – 46th among 48 states. Only Maine and Illinois have risen less percentagewise. This is an impressive record. Yet Michigan chronically faces financial disaster. Why? When Williams took office he found the rural-minded Republicans had cozily arranged to sluice five-sixths of the state's sales taxes back, by law, to local units of government. This aided farm counties but threatened disaster to the state. The state had to have more funds. Michigan had no personal income tax and light corporate taxes (even today its citizens pay less taxes than 30 other states). Williams proposed fiscal reforms including graduated state income and new corporate taxes. The rotten-borough GOP Senate yelled "Socialist!" and "Spendthrift!" and fought him every step of the way.

You must understand that you can have a Democratic landslide in Michigan and hardly touch the rigged Senate. Republicans have controlled the Senate with one exception since 1919. (New Jersey has a rotten-borough Senate, too, and Illinois, and state after state over the country, all wielding veto power and laughing at the big cities.) Finally the Michigan Senate agreed to a so-called compromise. The constitution forbids raising the sales tax above 3 percent but the Upper Peninsula House of Lords graciously proposed salvaging the near-bankrupt state by pushing through a "use" tax. Williams reluctantly went along, warning that the use tax, by whatever name called, was a patent subterfuge to violate the sales tax three percent ceiling, and that the courts might object.

Well, the courts have objected. They have junked the GOP "use" tax. That is the latest chapter in Michigan. The state is right back to normal again – near bankruptcy. And once more over the country conservative editorial writers are clucking their tongues sanctimoniously at New Deal-spender "Soapy" Williams, and his inflationary finances! Ho-hum, maybe the people are suckers after all. Or maybe – just maybe – the Michigan Republicans have gone a step too far this time, and given Governor Williams a boost upwards.

Eisenhower's Royal Tour

★ We think Eisenhower's foreign trip is a fine idea: he will spread good will, broad platitudes, generalized amiability in a kind of royal progress. He is cut out for reigning, not ruling. Nobody abroad can see him or hear him without feeling his friendliness and dignity. He should have a triumphal tour and no doubt improve international relations.

Running the country, of course, is another matter. The man we pity is Eisenhower's successor, Republican or Democrat. Eisenhower has let terrifying unsolved problems accumulate, national and international. Not since Lincoln followed Buchanan, or at any rate, Hoover, Coolidge – have there been so many. Who will be the unfortunate in the White House when the tranquilizer wears off. Someday, sooner or later, we must face reality again.

In a way the moral sickness of the TV scandal epitomizes the Eisenhower Era just as Teapot Dome did Harding, and the Wall Street crash Hoover. The TV scandal occurred because business has debased good taste to such a degree that millions of people actually do not know the difference between right and wrong in this kind of lying and cheating. Nobody has moralized more than Eisenhower: few have done less in specific cases. At his press conference last week two separate reporters, earnestly and almost imploringly, tried to get the President to set the national tone by voicing indignation. He was, however, reassuring on the whole. The nation "should remember," he said, "that self-discipline is the thing that will keep free government working on and on through the centuries to come."

Notes

★ Unfortunately for Charles Van Doren, House rules kept his great tear-jerking confessional off the air; had the public heard the edifying effort he might easily have been nominated Vice President on the Republican ticket. . . . After 116 days of no pay and pyramiding debt, returned steel workers are not thought likely to loaf on the job but rather to seek overtime; then when Taft-Hartley runs out January 26, strike again. . . . Last week's elections showed the Democratic trend still running at the local level over the country; this is bad for Nixon, good for Rockefeller: The GOP will probably have to attract independent voters to win and can do this better with Rockefeller than with Nixon. . . . Behind the scenes the big budget battle is on again; with four deficits in the past six years the Administration *must* have a surplus next year for the election, space race or not.

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Buy-Americanism

When the final salute was fired in Arlington over the grave of General George C. Marshall, the crack of the rifles, heard distinctly in downtown Washington, signaled the end of an era in economic as well as military affairs. In one decade, not only the recovery but the economic reorganization envisaged by the architects of the Marshall Plan have transformed Western Europe. Joint institutions have emerged. From the first, the OEEC (Organization for European Economic Cooperation) provided a mechanism for mutual consultation; subsequently, the Iron and Steel Community, Euratom, the Common Market of the Six and the Outer Seven have evolved. Standards of living have markedly improved throughout Western Europe.

Meanwhile, the NATO alliance, military aid programs, and the overseas installations of the US armed forces have supplemented the defense budgets of our allies and thereby freed resources for use in their civilian economies. In the case of Germany, the total absence of armament expenditures in the first years of recovery greatly quickened civilian revival. The result is that the German, the British and most recently the French currencies have hardened until the old problem of a dollar shortage abroad has been replaced by a new and very difficult problem due to the rapid accumulation of dollar balances abroad.

In the light of this much change, there is no question whatever that the US needs a major revision of its economic relations with Western Europe. But it needs a policy, not a panic, a policy for accommodating the American economy to life in a world in which other economies are strong and able to compete successfully with our own.

Instead of a long-term policy, there is a hurried retreat to that very economic nationalism against which Marshall Plan teams so fervently preached in Europe. Thus, on October 16, Mr. Vance Brand, managing director of the Development Loan Fund, announced that its loans to underdeveloped countries would henceforth be tied to a "Buy American" requirement. Cited as justification for this resort to bilateralism are the recurring balance of payments deficit of the US ($3.4 billion last year and expected to reach $4 billion this year), the continued limitations placed by other countries on purchases of dollar goods, and the reluctance of Western European nations to use sufficient of their resources either for military defense or for investment in less-developed areas. Three days after Mr. Brand's announcement, Mr. Eisenhower told a press conference that it seemed to him that what the US has been doing is "merely, let's say, increasing the gold reserves of

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somebody else while we have to make good the resulting balance of deficit in our own receipts from abroad. . . . There has been a great renaissance in [Western Europe] and in their prosperity. They are getting in a position, as we see it, to help in this business of helping underdeveloped countries that we have been carrying so much by ourselves. Doing that, we can also take a look at our whole system of extending credit to see whether we can't without damaging anybody else, to require that certain of these amounts be used to buy our products."

It's time for a change, but is a return to bilateralism the direction in which to veer? What has led the President to panic? The advice of Secretary of the Treasury Anderson is one explanation, for as TRB noted last week, he has become the most powerful figure in the Cabinet and speaks for the group which has always stressed the primacy of monetary policy. But also, this is the time of year when Washington writhes with the pangs of budget-making. With a Presidential election coming up during the life of the budget now in preparation, the possibility of sufficient improvement in the fiscal situation to make a tax cut possible in 1960 is being ardently canvassed. It is likewise the time when, with Congress away, corporations with overseas grievances clamor for the attention of the Executive branch.

Moreover, for a good long time, Wall Street has been nervous about the federal debt and the Treasury's funding problems and has worked itself into a mood in which the mind runs toward the timely purchase of a few Swiss francs. This nervousness has been ably reported by the *Wall Street Journal*, *Barron's* and the *Journal of Commerce*, all raising the question: in a world of strong currencies, how strong should the dollar be?

So those who have the confidence of the President have been taking a hard look at the items in the US world financial position with an eye to restoring the dollar payments balance. They have found few places, however, where a decrease in the outflow of dollars would not leave the US in a most awkward position.

For example, after urging private enterprise to invest abroad, the Administration can hardly now tell US corporations to scrap plans for overseas installations – quite a few of which have been established to take inside advantage of West European free trade arrangements.

Likewise, American tourists whose overseas spending broke all records this year would be surprised to hear that their country cannot afford to have them take those trips to Germany, France or Italy.

Furthermore, two big items in the balance of payments deficit are the export-import figures covering the exchange of merchandise, and the dollars which go abroad through the mutual security program. How much can either of these two expenditures be safely reduced at this moment? Over half of the mutual security funds go to our allies for military assistance and defense support. Assuming that they can and should carry more of the burden (and this applies especially to West Germany), the question remains: are unilateral US reductions in expenditures for armaments advisable just before Mr. Eisenhower ascends, first to the Western Summit, and then to the topmost Summit with Mr. Khrushchev? Mutual security funds and the direct US military budget for overseas expenditures should at least be matters that are considered jointly by the Western allies at the NATO session that will precede the Summits; they have an obvious value as bargaining counters when Mr. Khrushchev's demands for US military withdrawals from Europe come up for discussion.

Practical Economic Effects

Appropriately, the chosen instrument for announcement of the new Administration economic policy, Mr. Brand, comes to the Development Loan Fund from the Export-Import Bank, where tied loans have been the rule and where press releases over the past few years have featured the "Buy American" slogan. In dollar terms, the Development Loan Fund is small potatoes – potatoes that were peeled down further during the last session of Congress when the Administration welshed on its own request that DLF funds be authorized for disbursement over more than a single year to permit longer-range planning by recipient countries. The result was an appropriation, usable in fiscal 1960 only, of $550 million in place of the $700 million originally requested and the $5 billion, five-year program recommended by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Since some of the DLF monies were already being spent in the United States, the new restriction actually affects something less than $300 million per year as against a prospective balance of payments deficit of $4 billion this year, and a grand sum of US financial transactions, incoming and outgoing, in the neighborhood of $25 billion per year. Citing this, *The New York Times* notes further that the mechanical timetable of DLF operations is such that the tie-in effects will not be felt for two years. As *The Times* concludes, the "Buy American" policy "violates a rather important principle for so little gain."

In rebuttal, Secretary Anderson argues that the new policy will jolt European governments into doing more of the aid job. The effect, however, is simply to undercut efforts to encourage "untied" aid from the West European nations. At precisely the moment of the DLF announcement, years of lobbying within the Commission of the European Economic Community was about to produce plans for an untied Common Market aid fund. Now the mood in Bonn, where most of the money must be found, is naturally that if "Buy American" is sound policy, so is "Buy German."

But whereas the Germans can get away with "tied" aid – since their prices are competitive in the world mar-

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ket – the US cannot. Thus as a practical matter the application of the "Buy American" principle will either mean that the recipient countries will have to go elsewhere for credits or that the US will have to provide subsidies so that US suppliers can sell at competitive prices. This means, in turn, either that more DLF funds must be appropriated to get the same value in loans, or, if the subsidy is taken out of existing funds, that the recipient countries will get considerably less.

Secretary Anderson is very sensitive to his Congressional relations, and while Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, promptly wrote Mr. Brand and Secretary of State Herter that it seemed to him that "this change in policy will have several unfortunate effects, including the curtailing of world trade by promoting bilateral trade when multilateral trade should be encouraged," a growing number of Congressmen on both sides of the aisle have been voting for cuts with increasing enthusiasm. Sentiment for protection is rising in previously free-trade sections. Just before the Administration announced the tied loans, protectionist resolutions had been urgently proffered at the Southern Governors Conference. And special interests, trade union or corporate, such as those that have already been successful in inserting the requirement that US ships carry half of all agricultural surpluses disposed of abroad, will press their case with renewed fervor. Among the general public, too – the affluent public that in many places is even half-hearted in contributing to the United Givers Fund – there will be sympathy with the President's statement "that we are not to be looked on just as an Atlas trying to carry the whole world, that this is a job for all of us."

The Dillon Influence

There are some within the Administration who are not pleased by the new policy. During the "Buy American" controversy in Washington, Undersecretary of State Douglas Dillon was in the Far East, representing the US at the Tokyo meeting of the 37-nation General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. (His position was strangely reminiscent of that of Secretary Cordell Hull at the London Economic Conference of 1933 when Raymond Moley arrived to torpedo it.) Mr. Dillon's speeches urged members to combine their energies in developing less advanced countries; he declared "we are convinced that liberal trade policies are essential to the raising of standards of living throughout the world."

During his trip, he also visited other Far Eastern areas; there perhaps some of the wiser foreign service officers told him how useful the tied-loan policy will prove to peddlers of the Communist line, who will interpret the "Buy American" regulations as proof that aid from capitalist countries is in reality aid *for* capitalist countries.

The Cash Value of Ideas

On her television program called "I Speak for Myself," that intelligent lady, Marya Mannes, conversed the other night with *Art News* editor Tom Hess about abstract expressionist painting. Interesting as it was, the argument could have been joined more quickly had the discussion been better rehearsed. Twenty-two minutes is not much time in which to clarify this murky subject. It would have served the public convenience had the show been "rigged."

But would that shock columnist Roscoe Drummond? He is asking us all to turn off our TV sets for one hour at 10 p.m. on November 17, in silent protest against "this awful, sordid, squalid mess of rigged shows."

A more illuminating comment on the "squalid mess" appeared the day before Mr. Drummond blew his trumpet for silence. Surveying the national scene, James Reston had "an impression of haphazard greed, and a system debased and out of balance." He was not referring to the dollar's being debased or to the budget's being out of balance but to a less perceptible flaw, some imperfection in the character of this publicity-ridden society.

It may seem tasteless and even wicked at this moment of national indignation to look at Charles Van Doren – and at his equally culpable co-contestants, the producers, the admen, the sponsors, the networks, the FCC – against the mottled background of a morally ambiguous time. But consider how mottled it is. Disc jockeys are paid off, somehow. A favor done a Hollywood star by a columnist brings a favor in return. Tables in fancy restaurants appear mysteriously when the palm of the headwaiter is crossed. Honorary degrees go to Lord Bountifuls. Tax cases are settled irrespective of equity when the government is paid off. Public appointments are "rigged" to reward the party faithful.

Mr. Van Doren not only lied; he committed the sin of pride in convincing himself that what was good for Charlie would be good for education. But the rationalization of self-interest is common. Charlie Wilson earlier persuaded himself and some of the people that what was good for General Motors was good for the country. Likewise, businessmen want low taxes and high profits not because they are selfish, but because they believe in the American Way of Life. Advertisers sell shoddy goods through inane and exaggerated claims not because they are dishonest, but because they serve the high cause of high consumption. And if advertising agency X is too fastidious about an account or some phony copy, agency Y is willing. Mr. Nixon, like Mr. Van Doren, did not rob a bank; people just came to him – friendly people – and offered to help him out with money. And since Nixon knew *his* mission was noble, why should he refuse $18,000.

It is censurable and regrettable, but no doubt Mr. Van Doren too was influenced by the moral tone which has

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been so widely advertised these past seven years. The cash value of ideas has risen steadily. Balanced judgments have had to defer to balanced budgets. The divinity of dividends has become an absolute. The public applauds success, as it did when Mr. Van Doren was still scoring, and chooses not to know how the mighty were able to make it.

There isn't much glory in being a lowly teacher at Columbia University, not from the viewpoint of the people at the top. Mr. Van Doren saw his chance and took it, and was caught. But it might have been otherwise. He might have kept the cash and the fans. And then one day, we might have read that he had been invited to the White House for dinner. And there he would have sat, a plain teacher, among all those men who really know the answers, and who don't need to be briefed because it is they who do the briefing.

Guided Democracy

The anti-inflation campaign is a classic in how a manipulative society is coaxed to come to the "right" decisions. On November 2, a "Citizens Campaign against Inflation" was kicked off at the Statler Hotel in Washington by the President, who said he hoped "you will not forget what telegrams, letters and phone calls coming in by the millions can do to help the Congress, and the President and the entire organization he heads, in doing the right thing"; and the Vice President, who said that "unlike the few in the Soviet who make the decisions, ours is a nation where millions of individuals work together in drafting decisions."

Now, representatives of 48 national organizations do not spontaneously arrive for breakfast at the Statler; the "millions of individuals" need guidance. And that is where the Advertising Council of America comes in.

A year ago, when the Advertising Council honored former Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, with Secretary Anderson as the main speaker, Mr. Humphrey urged the Council to get into the fight against inflation. The Council's Industries Advisory Committee thereupon endorsed a campaign that had been outlined for it by a leading advertising agency. But the Council's Public Policy Committee, which must approve all "public interest" campaigns by a three-fourths vote, turned it down as too partisan. With some embarrassment, a new advertising campaign was readied with a less controversial message; namely, that stable prices can go along with economic growth and high employment. That was approved by the Public Policy Committee and then blessed by Secretary Anderson. It will hit the public with all the force of anonymity next January. There are, indeed, a great many differences between this country and the Soviet Union, but the power of "the few" to shake decisions for the many is not one of them.

Eisenhower to India

The chances are that between now and the time the President rises to address the Indian Parliament on December 11 there will be no further major clashes between Indian and Chinese border patrols. This is so irrespective of buffer-zone understandings of the sort proposed by Chou En-lai on November 8: wintry winds are likely to be as forbidding to the Chinese on the Tibetan "high" side of the Himalayan frontier as to the Indians encamped "down below" at 18,000-foot passes. Still, in the few months of respite before the spring thaws Peking will no doubt continue to convey its insults through diplomatic and propaganda channels, so that the climate of opinion in New Delhi will be one of tense anxiety when the President arrives.

If there were ever a time and place for what may be called the Eisenhower style, this is it. What the occasion demands is an effusion of goodwill and straight-forward friendship. Sincerity coupled with lack of definition, the ability to sound affirmative and principled without confronting an issue head-on – all that is so exasperating when he faces reporters in Washington reassures us as we contemplate the President before Parliament and two state dinners. For the direct approach would do more harm than good. This is no time to say I-told-you-so. Instead the President might speak generally of national and personal freedom and of American confidence in India's potential. He might give explicit indication once and for all, as Mr. Dulles never did, that the US accepts India's right to defend its interests aligned or unaligned (in his private talks with Mr. Nehru, however, he could suggest willingness to discuss the possibility of US help without strings in the event China forces total war). Above all, he might remember that Khrushchev and Bulganin somewhat spoiled their 1955 visit when they abused Indian hospitality by abusing the US.

"Military aid" in the conventional sense has no place on the President's agenda. It is relevant, oddly enough, only in the negative sense that the most important long-term US contribution to defense against China would lie in the loosening of unilateral US military ties to Pakistan so as to clear the way, politically, for Indo-Pakistan military coordination. Thus the defense of divided and disputed Kashmir depends primarily on staff coordination between the Indian and Pakistani armies and on finding technical solutions to the unique logistical problems of the world's most rugged mountain frontier. (A special helicopter designed to airlift troops to inaccessible Himalayan frontier posts is given high priority). The central fact about South Asia, about defending it and developing it economically, is that India and Pakistan are interdependent parts of a regional whole. Perhaps the President can further an awareness by both Indians and Pakistanis that the US has no favorite and

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means to reshape its military and economic aid policies to serve the cause of regional coordination.

The need to evolve a regional policy for South Asia is emphasized in the recent report on US policy in the area prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Professor Richard L. Park of the University of Michigan. "At this time," he maintains,

> "with signs of betterment of Indo-Pakistani relations appearing, and with a sizable armed force now developed in Pakistan, it would be advantageous to cut down on the budgetary priority given to the military establishment, as financed from internal and from external sources. . . . When a favorable time arises, an attempt should be made to effect mutual defense and partial disarmament agreements between India and Pakistan."

Professor Park also offers a provocative proposal the President might consider discussing with Nehru. "Considering the extent of the economic need in India," he says, "one policy worth considering would be the negotiation of an agreement between India, the United States, the USSR, and other interested countries such as Japan and West Germany wherein the United States, the USSR and other participating countries would agree to support given segments of India's Third and Fourth Five Year Plans on the basis of long-range [10-year] commitments. . . ."

British Africa's Future

When you look at British Africa as a whole, the Conservatives in Britain over the past six years have done very well by their African colonies. Ghana is now independent (and the arch-revolutionary Nkrumah a member of the Queen's Privy Council); Nigeria will be on its own in October, 1960; peaceful Tanganyika and Sierra Leone know that independence is a few years away at most; Uganda's independence is only postponed by the failure of internal African factions to resolve their differences; even tiny Basutoland and Gambia were granted a universal franchise and limited self-government last month. It is only in Central Africa and Kenya, where the problem of the future is complicated by the existence of large, affluent, and powerful white settler groups, that the British Government has been able to please no one.

Nevertheless, if Africans had voted in the British elections last month, Hugh Gaitskell's party (like Adlai Stevenson's in India) would have been a shoo-in. There are several long-standing reasons for this partiality, but the immediate issue was the short-sighted effort of the Macmillan government to sweep under the rug the critical findings of the Devlin Commission of Inquiry on last February's disturbances in Nyasaland.

Yet, the government in London has been unsettled by the Devlin findings, more than anyone in authority dared to admit in the course of the electoral campaign. The replacement of the controversial Colonial Secretary, Alan Lennox-Boyd, by Iaan Macleod, one of the most liberal and dynamic of the younger conservatives, was the first in a series of moves designed to improve the unfavorable image of the Conservative Party which has emerged in East and Central Africa. The Kenya Government's recent decision to open up the previously inviolate White Highlands to qualified African farmers on a selective basis is timed to give dramatic proof that the Macmillan government's Kenya policies are a response to the times and not dictated, as Labour charged during the campaign, by the settler community. Most important of all, the British Government has in recent months quietly revised its position on the projected 1960 talks on the future status of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

One of the principal causes behind the February disturbances in Nyasaland, the Devlin Commission found, was that Africans were terrified that the 1960 constitutional talks would result in Dominion status for the Rhodesia-Nyasaland Federation, and the transfer of all powers to a settler-dominated government. There was strong suspicion that an independent Federation would be dominated by Southern Rhodesia, where European attitudes have sometimes been compared to those in South Africa. For a long time, Federation Prime Minister Roy Welensky had spoken confidently of Dominion status by 1960, and there was little attempt in official quarters to correct this impression. But a few days after the Devlin report was in official hands, Prime Minister Macmillan made it clear in the House of Commons that Britain had no intention of transferring its responsibilities for the people of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to the federal government, "either in the short run or the long run" so long as British protection was desired. More recently, it has become clear that it is now the government's policy intention to develop Nyasaland gradually into an African-governed state within the Federation; and there is discussion of the advantages of permitting Northern Rhodesia to develop the same way.

Such a development would be very hard for the 74,000 Europeans in copper-rich Northern Rhodesia to swallow, but it would seem to be the only peaceful way that the Federation has a chance of being held together. It may be possible to persuade the Africans that only by staying in the Federation can they protect their brethren in Southern Rhodesia from eventual incorporation in South Africa. And it may be possible to persuade the Rhodesian whites that the enormous economic potential of the Federation is worth some heart-rending concessions to African aspirations.

First of all, however, the government must somehow get Nyasaland's slim African elite into a mood to trust British motives again, and willing to cooperate in a

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step-by-step program to Africanize the Nyasaland administration. Five hundred of the country's politically-conscious Africans are beginning their second six months in prison, and among these are 32 of the country's 35 college graduates. Without a great deal more ground work than has been done to date, it would almost certainly invite rebellion to let them out. But until they are released, Nyasaland has few qualified Africans, and none with a popular following, to work with.

In the first post-election debate on colonial policy in the House of Commons last week, Colonial Secretary Macleod responded to persistent Labour needling on the possibility of a non-federal solution in Central Africa with a refusal to engage in an "impromptu" discussion of so grave a subject and said he would like to postpone a direct reply on this issue until after the upcoming visit to London of the Prime Ministers of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. The American press was, at the least, premature in interpreting the Colonial Secretary's remarks to mean his government would shortly be prepared to consider substitute proposals for Federation.

Ben-Gurion Wins Again

The outcome of the Israel parliamentary election was hardly surprising, for no one expected David Ben-Gurion's MAPAI (Labor Party) to emerge from the contest in anything but first place. Nominally socialist but centrist by Israel standards, MAPAI has controlled the government since 1948, always through coalition cabinets commanding a majority of the Knesset's 120 votes.

The elections took place at a time when Israel was in a period of deceptive calm. No major crises aroused an electorate described in one report as apathetic. But the informed citizen had cause for reflection. Israel's diplomatic balance sheet remains unfavorable. New links have been established with some African states, but Morocco recently gave up its quasi-neutrality to align itself nearly completely with the Arab states. Relations with the US and Britain remain cordial, but the honeymoon with France appears to be over. There has been a new rash of border incidents, and the Suez Canal is more than ever closed to the transit, not only of Israeli ships, but also of goods to and from Israel. Instability in Iraq and the renewed vigor of Nasser's diplomacy add an element of uncertainty. Internally, Middle Eastern and North African immigrants remain dissatisfied and several ethnic riots occurred this summer, accentuating a general *malaise* about Israel's own "color problem." The Arab population still forms a distrusted minority in the land of their birth; many are still under military rule. Though the economy is growing, it still depends heavily on foreign public and private donations; and in about three years, German reparations, now a major source of funds, will have been paid up.

BONN

Fear in West Germany Of an Allied Sell-Out

Two weeks ago, Dr. Adenauer performed a remarkable and little-noticed *volte face* when addressing a Christian Democratic congress in Baden-Baden. His new thesis was diametrically opposed to his old one – he urged that the coming Summit Conference should concentrate on universal controlled disarmament, should avoid all mention of the German problem and its "interior" Berlin question, and should work to relax tension in Central Europe and throughout the world, prior to a fresh discussion of the German problem.

Before the Baden-Baden speech it had been the Social Democrats who had steadily and often vociferously sponsored a "relaxation of tension." They were prepared to back plans for military disengagement in Europe, for a "nuclear-free zone" or a zone of limited armaments, for the withdrawal of both German states from their military alliances of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and for the final and lasting military neutralization of a reunified Germany. Dr. Adenauer still believes that none of these things will help towards establishing lasting peace in Europe. Instead, he wants the Western Powers to concentrate on universal, controlled disarmament. He believes that progress in this field can alone supply clear evidence of Khrushchev's good faith – without involving Western concessions which would otherwise be dangerous and unjustified. This is why Dr. Adenauer, for instance, opposes – rightly or wrongly – the Macmillan Plan for creating a zone of limited, controlled and equalized armaments in Central Europe. He considers that this would offer too many temptations to the Russians to try to exploit Western differences of opinion. An initial agreement which would "break the ice of the Cold War" would be immensely attractive to some Western statesmen. What pressures would be brought to bear on them by their own peoples to accept it? What sacrifices might they not ask Germany to bear, in the common interest?

These are imponderables; universal controlled disarmament is not. Yet here another, more insidious danger emerges to confront the Chancellor. Khrushchev could use disarmament, desired by everybody, as a lever in order to secure the "Soviet solution" of the German question. He could try to wring concessions out of the Western Powers – their *de facto* recognition of the East German Republic, a reduction of their garrisons in Berlin, a hearing at least for the Soviet plan for a "German Confederation" of two equally-entitled states. The same Western statesmen who would refuse to make

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such concessions, when they were demanded at the pistol-point threat of a "Berlin crisis" might find it hard to refuse them if real progress in the field of disarmament were offered. For Britain is tired of paying a disproportionately large portion of her budget for defense; France is obsessed with the costly Algerian problem; the US is preparing to cut her monetary aid to Europe. Disarmament would please everybody – in the West too. Why, then, should the West not make concessions in Central Europe?

This fear – that precisely by means of the thumbscrew of disarmament, the West might be driven by their own peoples into a deadly "agreement at the expense of Germany" – seems to have assailed Dr. Adenauer at Baden-Baden. He used there for the first time the phrase, "Germany may be called upon to make sacrifices, in order to liquidate the consequences of the war." The "liquidation of the consequences of the war" has previously been a Communist parrot-cry.

The phrase has had another effect. It has deepened the mood of pessimism bordering on panic which today prevails in Bonn. Dr. Adenauer has so successfully depicted Macmillan as the apostle of appeasement that a great many Germans have begun to accept his picture. General de Gaulle, at the same time, has openly accepted the Oder-Neisse line as Germany's eastern frontier – an act of extreme political realism which he underlined in the third volume of his memoirs. President Eisenhower has alarmed Germans by suggesting that Western Germany should not be a fully entitled partner in next month's "Western Summit" talks in Paris. This action, and the sudden recall of Ambassador David Bruce from Bonn to Washington, produced glaring headlines in the usually careful and well-informed *Die Welt* – "Ill-feeling between Bonn and Washington. Ambassador Bruce flies to the United States." According to *Die Welt*, the State Department was deeply worried by Adenauer's remark, that "we will not accept any decision which does not conform with Germany's interests."

The suggestion of a rift in German-American relations has, of course, been quickly denied in Bonn and Washington, but there are plenty of additional reasons for pessimism in Western Germany. George Kennan has prophesied a gloomy future of continued East-West tension. In spite of countless reiterations of good faith, the Western Powers are still suspected of being ready to make "local" concessions over Berlin. Public opinion polls in Western Germany have disclosed a decreasing number of people who believe Germany can ever be reunified. It is small wonder that Khrushchev's most conciliatory speech ever, on November 1, brought no answering thrill of pleasure or hope to German breasts. For, Germans argued, his new, moderate tone and his compliments to the Western leaders dovetailed with the fear of an agreement between East and West "at Germany's expense." This fear is going to dominate German thinking in the months ahead.

Terence Prittie

IT'S EXPENSIVE TO LET OUR CITIES DECAY

The Arithmetic of Slum Clearance

by Oscar H. Steiner

Back in 1933 a Catholic priest, now Monsignor R. B. Navin, president of St. John College in Cleveland, showed us how to do the arithmetic of slum clearance. His study, entitled "Analysis of a Slum Area," covered a near-downtown Cleveland tract of 333 acres already badly eroded by decay and obsolescence. It disclosed that the tract yielded $225,000 in real property taxes, while expenditures for municipal housekeeping and for public and private health and welfare purposes amounted to $2 million – a net deficit of $1,750,000. Over every four-year period the taxpayers of Cleveland were paying out an amount equal to the appraised value of the tract without acquiring title to it.

The same sort of economic analysis has now been conducted on slums elsewhere. James W. Follin, while serving as Federal Urban Renewal Commissioner, observed in a speech before the University of Michigan School of Public Health: "An Eastern city, in one year, received $108 more in per capita revenue from good residential areas than it spent there, but its slums cost $88 more per person than they yielded. In one Southern city, slum areas contributed only 5.5 percent of the city's property taxes, but required 53 percent of the city's health, police, fire and other service facilities."

According to another expert estimate, it costs local government in the average city about $60 per person to service its entire citizenry each year. In slum areas the per capita costs are $140 a year. Cities like Baltimore,

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Cleveland, Boston, Buffalo and St. Louis are each pouring $7,000,000 to $8,000,000 a year into slum drains. On a national basis, with over 20 million living in slums, our bill easily exceeds $2 billion annually.

These are the direct, tangible costs. Who can put a price on the human losses? Surely, there would be sweet gains to the spirit and to the security of our society, as well as our pocketbooks, if the slums could be erased.

But here we are concerned with defining and calcuating the immediate dollar costs of housing blight. Let's make certain we understand the arithmetic lesson Msgr. Navin first taught. To approach it from a somewhat different angle, let's create a hypothetical city and see what happens to its finances when one of its residential sections succumbs to decay. Take, for example, a city that has land and buildings valued for tax purposes at $300 million with an over-all tax levy of $33.33 per thousand dollar valuation. This means a realty tax income of $10 million in round numbers. To keep the illustration simple let's assume that two-thirds of the municipal revenue comes from real estate taxes. The remaining income is derived from public utilities, personal property and miscellaneous sources.

To have a balanced budget, the city's expenses must be kept within that $15 million income. We have:

Real Estate Tax Income	
Commercial, manufacturing and other non-residential property producing tax revenues of	$5,000,000
Two types of residential tracts designated "A" and "B" producing tax revenues of	("A") $4,000,000
	("B") $1,000,000
	$10,000,000
Miscellaneous income from public utilities, personal property, etc.	$5,000,000
Total municipal income needed to operate city on balanced budget	$15,000,000

This then is the situation when all areas are physically sound and financially self sustaining. Now let's say that blight strikes Tract "B", transforming it into a slum. Slum blight hits two ways: it radically reduces property values; it reduces tax income even more so. Along with this, the cost of servicing Tract "B" climbs sharply.

Tract "B" now requires $1,500,000 instead of $1,000,000 to service it annually. This is a realistic estimate considering the Tract's soaring crime rate, the increased fire hazards, the higher incidence of disease, delinquency, poverty and other demands on the city's social services. In line with this analysis we can expect Tract "B" to produce reduced tax revenues amounting to only 10 percent of its service costs, or less than $150,000.

Our theoretical city now has tax incomes as follows:

Real Estate Tax Income	
Non-residential real estate sources	$5,000,000
Tract "A"	$4,000,000
Tract "B" (slum)	$150,000
Total	$9,150,000
Miscellaneous non-real estate income	$5,000,000
Total to operate city	$14,150,000

Recall that before the slum blight struck, it required $15,000,000 to operate our city. It now requires $500,000 more to service the slum area. This means an over-all municipal outlay of $15,500,000.

In tabulation our city now faces a deficit.

	Income	*Expenditures*
Non-residential estate sources	$5,000,000	$5,000,000
Tract "A"	$4,000,000	$4,000,000
Tract "B" (slum)	$ 150,000	$1,500,000
Total	$9,150,000	$10,500,000
Miscellaneous non-real estate income	$5,000,000	$5,000,000
Grand Total	$14,150,000	$15,500,000

Our city is now operating at an annual deficit of $1,350,000. To balance its budget its taxes must be increased 9.5 percent, or its bond indebtedness raised. Virtually every municipality faces this situation today.

Equally serious is the deterioration of property values, particularly in the slum area. Using our $33.33 per thousand tax figure, Tract "B" is now producing $150,000 in tax revenue against $1,000,000 formerly produced. This tax loss transferred into property values involves a decline from $30,000,000 to $4,500,000 – a property value loss to the city of over $25,000,000 in Tract "B" alone. This does not take into consideration the devitalizing effect of this slum blight on the real estate values in the balance of the city.

Let us go a step further. Assume that there are approximately 5,000 dwelling units in Tract "B" (this is based on an average tax value now reduced to slightly under $1,000 per unit). Now let us place the cost of buying up an average slum unit, and clearing it at $8,000. (This is too high. It should be nearer $6,000, but we

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want to be conservative in our figures.) The 5,000 slum units, therefore, involve an outlay of $40,000,000.

$40,000,000! Every realistic taxpayer, thinking in terms of *his* city, feels a tug at his wallet and asks: "How much is this going to cost me?" But the $40,000,000 is not a permanent outlay. It is an *investment* because the cleared land, when improved with decent housing, will have regained its tax valuation of $30,000,000. It will have appreciated in value $25,000,000 against a clearance cost of $40,000,000.

But see what it means to the city as a whole:

1. A slum area has been cleared away at a cost of $40,000,000, compensated by tax valuation improved by more than $25,000,000.
2. The city as the owner of the land will be reimbursed through its resale.
3. The city will have eliminated an $1,350,000 annual deficit directly traceable to the slum blight. Without making any allowance for the resale value of the cleared land or the increased tax valuation, this saving is equal to more than 3.25 percent on its investment in clearing out the slum area. (Note that I say investment and not expense, since it is self-liquidating.)

The clearing cost, far from being an expense, is a sound recoverable investment. By reversing the rising tax trend and eliminating our slums we may do much to slow up the flight of industry and richer citizens to the suburbs; a trend that may spell financial trouble if not reversed.

In New Haven, Conn., where this trend has been reversed in one area, Mayor Lee was quoted as saying, "New Haven's Oak Street development – 44 acres in the heart of town – was a slum costing New Haven $200,000 annually for fire, police, health and other services, while bringing about $105,000 in property taxes." H. Ralph Taylor, urban renewal director, estimates that when an urban redevelopment project is completed, tax revenues will have tripled and cost of service cut in half.

Here is the before-and-after New Haven dollar tabulation:

Service-Costs	*Revenue*
Before slum clearance..$200,000	$105,000 ($ 95,000 Deficit)
After urban renewal...$100,000	$315,000 (*$215,000* Surplus)
Net gain to city.	$310,000

Washington, D. C., reports that its large slum clearance program known as the southwest renewal area is expected to boost the section's tax yield from $451,000 to $3,430,000. This gain projected to other renewal areas gives hope of an increased tax yield, over-all, of $7,000,000 annually, *an amount sufficient to amortize the district's whole renewal cost in ten years.*

Some people may say that we should expect higher municipal taxes and bonded indebtedness because the cost of living is steadily rising – in other words, because of inflation. Actually, tax *rates* should remain stable and the additional costs of municipal services should be compensated for by a natural increase in property values brought about by healthy growth. Growth should yield the required larger gross tax return and would do so if operating costs did not rise out of proportion. Tax rates and tax income should not be confused.

Rising tax rates and higher bonded debt mean that a larger portion of a community's wealth is needed to maintain the community. In 1948 there were 14 cities in the United States with populations of 500,000 or more. The total population of these cities was 24.5 million, and the annual income and expenses for the 14 cities averaged slightly more than $100 per capita. In 1956, the total population of these cities was slightly more than 25 million persons and the per capita municipal income and expense was $150. An increase in operating costs and revenue requirements of 50 percent in eight years!

The net long-term indebtedness of these 14 cities averaged $168 per capita in 1950 and $254 per capita in 1956 – a jump of 50 percent in six years. The total indebtedness had jumped from $3.7 billion in 1950 to $6.5 billion six years later. Our cities, it's obvious, are in financial trouble. Slum deficits are largely responsible and the slums are spreading.

What happens when slums spread? A larger and larger share of the community's mounting tax burden falls on home owners in the shrinking good areas and on the factories, stores and office buildings. Home owners in the better neighborhoods don't get the services they are paying for because the tax revenues are diverted to subsidizing the poor sections.

Industry can deal with rising tax rates and declining services by moving to outlying suburban areas, thereby intensifying the problems of the central city. If the exodus has not been greater than it has, it is only because capital investment in the form of building and fixed equipment is relatively frozen. In many cases, higher tax rates in the aging cities discourage commercial and industrial renovation and expansion. Factories in the older sections are allowed to deteriorate or become obsolete.

Retail stores, of course, pass their higher property taxes on to the consumer. The owners of homes in the sound, stable neighborhoods, if they trade at them, will be paying twice for slums – in higher taxes on their own property and in higher prices in the stores.

Arithmetic and reflection should alert us to the economic threat our slums constitute. Our money and our future are tied up in them. We all own the slums.

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THE FACTS ABOUT NIXON – VIII

The Vice President played rough in '54. But when the game was over the scoreboard showed the Democrats had taken over both branches of the Congress. Within a year, Eisenhower had suffered a heart attack and the question was raised again of Nixon's fitness for the top job. By the time of the Republican convention in 1956, however, the attempt to block Nixon had flopped. Stassen was sent to the showers. Nixon was renominated, and another battle with Adlai Stevenson was on.

Coasting with Ike in '56

by William Costello

The 1956 campaign began in an atmosphere of political uncertainty. A good deal of water had gone over the dam since Eisenhower had discounted Communism as a major political issue in the United States. In the interval McCarthyism had been killed off. The question in the minds of Democrats was whether Nixon and the Republican Old Guard would agree that the security issue had been disposed of, or whether the Vice President, for lack of anything more popular as a debating ground, would return to his charge that the Democratic Party was soft on Communism.

Nixon's role, it was tacitly conceded, was the major imponderable since Eisenhower clearly would not tax his strength with the kind of campaign he had waged four years earlier.

Washington columnists as early as December, 1955, floated reports that the President's illness had caused Nixon to reconsider his posture on the national scene. The stridency of his ambition, it was said, had mellowed because, to his surprise, his speeches were no longer mere exercises in semantics but were widely read as the utterances of a man who might well be President. His new status sobered him, so the legend went; and to prove it there were reports that he had cast about for speech writers to help modulate his pronouncements.

The campaign was slow getting under way, and Nixon made his preparations with the deliberation of a veteran. By September 9 he had scheduled a pulse-feeling excursion into 32 states; and having so set the stage, he met privately at the White House with President Eisenhower to agree on the line each would follow on the stump. He told newsmen next day, as he prepared to begin work on his basic speech, that his mission would be to counter Democratic "distortions" of the record "vigorously and aggressively so that people will know that they have something to fight for." And with a nostalgic genuflection to the Chotiner influence, he added: "You can't win by wishy-washy milktoast."

It was not exactly a rocking-socking-fighting mood; something more like a synthetic, Sunday-best facsimile. As for the capital cloakroom jargon of the moment – talk of the "new Nixon" as something less bloodthirsty than the slugger who had infuriated opponents in earlier campaigns – he remained smoothly noncommittal. The individual, he said, "is least qualified to judge whether he is new or old."

The curtain-raiser for the campaign was a folksy, enthusiastic picnic for 600 key party workers September 13 at the Eisenhower farm at Gettysburg. The President played host under a big tent in a pasture; he circulated busily in the crowd shaking hands, lined up with his guests at a buffet table to eat fried chicken, and shared star billing with Nixon on the speaking program.

In tone if not in the substance of his apparently discursive remarks, Ike set the keynote for the campaign. Saying, "I feel fine," and looking it, the President threw away his prepared notes and delivered an informal pep talk in which he took for himself the role of defining basic guideposts for the Republican Party. Then, alluding boldly to the issue of his own health, as he had from the beginning, he went on to assure the assemblage: "There is no man in the history of America who has had such a careful preparation as has Vice President Nixon for carrying out the duties of the Presidency, if that duty should ever fall on him."

In the light of that statement there could be no blinking at the fact that Nixon was a central figure if not the central issue of the campaign. The Vice President in turn reflected the shifting scale of values; he defined his primary responsibility in the terms which by now had grown familiar to audiences from coast to coast, even to the solemn assurance of which he seemed never to tire: "You don't win campaigns with a diet of dishwater and milktoast!"

He went on to deny that the Democrats were the party of the poor and that Republicans were only for the rich and big business; he ridiculed charges that the Eisenhower Administration was shot through with corrup-

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tion; he accused Stevenson of political fakery for voicing a hope that the draft might soon be ended, and twitted the Democratic nominee for his failure to give the Supreme Court's school integration ruling his four-square endorsement.

Ike and Mamie beamed at the platform sallies; the guests were noisily, cheerfully partisan; and the picnic set a tone of genial party strife, a far cry from the desperate climate of mistrust that had prevailed two years earlier.

Nixon's actual campaigning began early on the morning of September 18. The scene was the Terrace Dining Room of the Washington National Airport. Present to signalize the occasion was President Eisenhower himself, breakfasting with the Vice President and a group of other GOP campaigners. Nixon had ahead of him six weeks of the most arduous hedgehopping and whistle-stopping, 33,000 miles in 32 states.

Ike was in a rosy, confident mood, and he was ready with a characteristic homily. "The record itself is sufficient, if it is made sufficiently clear to all Americans," he assured the Vice President. "And that should be our campaign." To make his message wholly clear, the President added benignly that there was "no need to indulge in the exaggerations of partisan political talk" nor to "claim perfection."

That was the official enunciation of the party line. The President was on hand with a parting salute because it was the least he could do for a man undertaking that most difficult of all missions – the task of stating another man's case for him – but he was there on his own terms, not on Nixon's. However reluctant Eisenhower was to do his own stumping, whether for reasons of health or otherwise, he undertook to lay out the ground rules for the struggle, rules that did not encourage the Chotiner-Nixon style of in-fighting.

In the circumstances, the professionals had to accept the President's battle plan as a calculated risk. They had barely won control of Congress in '52, riding the Eisenhower coattails, and they had lost heavily in '54 after an all-out slugging match. The reasonable inference was that there was no magic in the party name or image, and that even slugging had its limitations. That being so, what remained in their arsenal was the Eisenhower magic. If that could still win – even if only on a diet of dishwater and milktoast – it had to win for both itself *and* the party.

Exorcising the Old Nixon

For lack of another issue, the President's health continued to hold the center of the stage. The Republicans might not have preferred it that way but it was not theirs to choose. And the focal point of that issue, quite logically and inevitably, was Vice President Nixon. The voter had only to ask himself – or be invited to by a

"Sweetest Little Feller – Everybody Knows – "

Democrat – whether a Republican ticket deserved to win if the man who might succeed to the Presidency was of questionable fitness for the highest office in the land. So long as the question could be asked, it had to be answered.

Opinion about Nixon was still divided. One of the Vice President's avowed admirers, Richard Wilson, wrote in *Look* that his biggest problem was still "to overcome the impression in some groups, particularly those who think of themselves as intellectuals, that some undefined tricky quality in Nixon makes him unsuited for the Presidency." The *Madison* (Wis.) *Capital Times* argued with frank belligerency that the problem was "how to exploit Nixon's unquestionable capacity for smear-type campaigning and at the same time project the image of Eisenhower as a unifier and pacifier above the political battles."

The origin of the 1956 strategy – whether it was conceived by the Vice President alone or in concert with Administration and party advisers – has never been revealed. At any rate, the Republican high command let itself be persuaded that the task of the campaign was to exorcise the old, controversial Nixon personality. If the Vice President was to be propped up as the spokesman and filial image of an ailing Administration, the first essential was to provide him with a veneer of statesmanship and Eisenhowerism.

Nixon embraced the strategy skillfully. He was billed

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as the traveling salesman of Republicanism but his chief product was no longer to be the party. His tactic, when the precinct workers yelled for the taste of raw meat, was to offer instead the composite Eisenhower-Nixon personality, whose spirit infused and transcended the grosser aspects of partisanship.

The campaign was hardly more than a few days old when the *Wall Street Journal* cited, as an example of his "political craftsmanship," the fact that Nixon had "carefully set out to undo Democratic attempts to picture him as just a party hatchet man, and to appear before the voters as a man of Presidential timber."

Nixon had fortified himself for the ordeal. Five days before the Terrace Dining Room pep-talk, he had secluded himself in a room at the Mayflower Hotel. There with pencil and pad, he outlined, revised and laboriously, brick by brick, laid out the text of his "basic speech."

"He just climbed into his pajamas and thought and thought and wrote and wrote," one of his press secretaries told Richard Rovere. "He doesn't want ghost-writers. Oh, we help with research, and we give him ideas now and then, and sometimes we throw in a phrase or a sentence we think might be helpful. But it all goes through that meat-grinder of a mind he's got, and believe me, it comes out an entirely different grade of hamburger. He has his own vocabulary and his own rhythms, and none of us can really catch them. And he'll never use anything that doesn't sound like him."

Theme of the Campaign

What came out of the meat-grinder was, in essence, a slogan joined with a name: "Eisenhower; peace, prosperity, progress." It was a text liberally sprinkled with eulogies to "the greatest leader of the atomic age," "a man who ranks among the greatest of the legendary heroes of this nation," "a man of destiny, both at home and abroad." It reached a climax urging every American to rise above the petty squabbles of partisanship:

> "And finally may I tell you, as you go out and work in this campaign to keep [name of state] in the Eisenhower column, you are working for an Administration that has brought peace and prosperity and progress to America and you are going to be working for a man whom every American can proudly hold up to his children as one who has faith in God, faith in America, and one who has restored dignity and respect to the highest office in the land."

On the first leg of his tour, from Washington to Southern California and the Pacific Northwest, Nixon's quest for votes fell into a smooth-running pattern. At the first stop after the President's send-off, in Indianapolis, he promised to stick to the high road, but warned the Democrats not to get rough. "Let's get one thing straight right now," he said. "Where our opponents misrepresent and distort the record and where they vilify the President of the United States, I shall consider it a duty and a privilege to set the record straight." The rest was oratorical window dressing.

By the time he hit Oregon, Nixon had so polished the basic speech that he could deliver it backward. It was a subdued, mellow performance, with just enough nips at the Truman policies to stir up the crowd but none like his snide 1952 assurance that "nothing would please the Kremlin more" than Stevenson's election.

At each airport Nixon walked down the ramp from his DC-6B with his arm around wife Pat, for a greeting from a beribboned delegation of ranking Republicans in the vicinity. Then off in a motorcade to the rally. The speech drew good crowds and seemed to go over, although to be sure the audiences were to a large extent claques of the faithful who needed no persuasion.

From city to city and state to state the main body of the speech remained constant, and as the phraseology grew shopworn with repetition, the correspondents coined their own titles for the familiar clichés. "The Old Shoe" was his statement that the United States "has prosperity and peace to boot"; the "Weight-Lifting Act," his line that "every man can hold up Dwight Eisenhower to his children as a man who has faith in God, faith in America"; and the "Bush-Leaguer" identified his assertion that "Adlai Stevenson just isn't in the same league with President Eisenhower."

A correspondent who accompanied the Vice President on both 1956 campaign swings admitted that, listening to him day after day, a preconceived dislike had been intensified. "There was something completely synthetic about Nixon's appearances," he said. "He never debated the issues, simply brushed them off with slogans and clichés. After a while you only felt him saying to himself: 'How can I make this crowd *like* me?' Granting that all politicians want to be liked, Nixon's effort was too transparent; it made him look bad."

On this as on other trips, both Nixons worked with tireless intensity. Their chartered airliner had been fitted with a beaverboard compartment at the rear where they could have privacy – reading, or napping or writing without interruption. For Nixon, one of the advantages of plane travel was that, with every seat booked, there was no room for that self-invited pest, the local politician who might want to hitch a ride to the next stop. Toward the end of the trip Nixon did shift to a train part of the time and he made no secret of his distaste for the company of these political hangovers of the whistle-stopping era. When a reporter asked whether he preferred planes or trains, he answered: "Planes of course; more privacy, and you can get more work done."

Normally his tours booked every hour of every day solidly. On one occasion in California there was an enforced layover of several hours, and a group of weary

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staff members and reporters took advantage of the break to go for a swim in the hotel pool. Suddenly, in the midst of the laughter and horseplay, Nixon in his bathing suit stalked into the patio, dove in, swam the length of the pool several times, climbed out and disappeared in the direction of his room. All this without so much as a glance right or left or a word or a smile to anyone in the party.

For Mrs. Nixon, as for her husband, every thought was dedicated to the campaign. On one occasion in Cheyenne, Nixon was suffering from a virus attack and the speech was an ordeal; words came with difficulty, his face was ashen and he fought for control. Later, as the party boarded a midnight plane, a correspondent standing beside Mrs. Nixon expressed sympathy for the Vice President's having to carry on at such a cost. "Oh," she exclaimed defensively, "but it was a *good* speech!" Outwardly, whatever her private feelings, no sign of wifely anxiety.

By October 1 the Vice President's preoccupation with the pounding rhythms of the campaign was being interrupted by raucous protests from Republican headquarters in Washington. Willard Edwards reported in *The Chicago Tribune*, after private conversations with Nixon in his flying office, that the party high command had begun sending messages begging him frantically to slug it out with Stevenson and deploring the lofty level at which he had been operating. In response to their advice to "engage in verbal street-fighting, slashing, ripping and swinging from his heels," the Vice President let it be known that he had no intention of becoming a "political Jack-the-Ripper."

To verify the report, Edwards telephoned Washington at a stop on the tour and confirmed, not only that Nixon was running his own show, but that panicky Republican leaders were imploring him to assume again the role of hatchet man. "He's paying us no attention," a high Republican official growled. "He's got his own mimeograph machine and he won't let us lay a hand on the crank."

What had stirred the party high command to a sense of panic were the private polls indicating an easy victory for Eisenhower and Nixon, but a depressing outlook for House and Senate candidates in many areas. Nixon admitted that, in probing for "soft spots," he had found many; but to him the cold fact of politics was that the Republicans were a minority party, and Eisenhower could not win without Democratic votes. His appeal was therefore bipartisan in those states where voter registration showed the Republicans to be outnumbered; and the tactics that he had favored in earlier years were no longer appropriate.

Nixon worked subtly and persistently to divide the Democratic Party against itself. One of his popular arguments at closed meetings of party workers was that UAW President Walter Reuther, whom he called the

"smartest labor leader in America," was the "man to beat" in November rather than Stevenson. After he had exploited the possibilities of this line privately, he arranged that a Michigan reporter should hear one of his briefings. The result was a *Detroit News* story in which Nixon praised Reuther's "cleverness" and suggested that the UAW leader sat at the center of a nationwide spider-web, the "source of the big money and organizers" capable of winning for the Democratic Party.

At the other extreme, he went so far in a Milwaukee news conference as to make backhanded amends for his controversial 1952 allusion to Truman as a "traitor to the high principles" of the Democratic Party. Explaining the charge, Nixon said: "I believe that in the Democratic Party there is a great cleavage between the great principles on which the Democratic Party was founded – Jefferson and Jackson, principles which recognize the dignity of the individual, the sovereignty of the states – and the new theory which some of those who are now quite influential in the Democratic Party hold to, that the answer to most problems is through federal government action. I think that when Mr. Truman and Mr. Stevenson and others went along with this new theory rather than the one that is traditionally considered to be the special province of the Democratic Party, I believe they left millions of Democrats without a home. In other words, I believe that they deserted their party rather than the party deserting them."

The stratagem may have been well conceived, but if it paid off the evidence was scanty. In fact, it was a question how much or whether the final outcome was

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affected at all by the selfless foot-pounds of energy and devotion he poured into the struggle. On the whole it was a tepid campaign because there was no fundamental or vital issue dividing the country that year. During October the campaign was enlivened, if only sporadically, by Adlai Stevenson's proposal to suspend nuclear bomb testing; but the fallout danger had not yet been recognized for what it was, and the public was not ready for the proposal.

By and large the test ban never became an issue. Eisenhower, having perhaps some prescience that the proposal contained its own built-in logic, treated the subject gingerly. Nixon began with similar caution, calling it first "unacceptable," but warming to the subject progressively when he found audiences responsive. At Philadelphia October 3 he called the test ban proposal "extraordinary – appalling – catastrophic nonsense – the height of irresponsibility – naïve – the most dangerous theme of the campaign." By October 17 at Buffalo he was accusing Stevenson of "playing dangerous politics with American security," and referring to "the ridiculous H-bomb proposal" as a "major political error" on Stevenson's part.

Yielding Not to Temptation

Except for that indiscretion, Nixon's new personality was proof against all temptation. When Congressman Dewey Short, introducing him at a rally, assured Nixon: "You're among friends – take off your gloves and sock them," the Vice President could only pretend not to hear. In Ohio, where GOP workers openly deplored his mellow mood, he was challenged directly to defend his "high-level" campaign. For the first time, publicly at any rate, he deserted the Chotiner fear-and-scare psychology of winning political converts. He told a news conference: "The problem this year is different from that in 1952. I always conduct a hard-hitting campaign on issues, and avoid personalities. In 1952 we were giving the people reasons to throw out a group, and now we are giving them reasons to keep an Administration in. What I am doing now is to appeal to swing voters, whom we must have to win. It is essential to have a type of campaign persuasive to independents and Democrats."

Nixon's first cross-country swing was followed by a second, and simultaneously by a burst of energy on Eisenhower's part. Their theme remained the same – that the American people had never been happier or more prosperous. They refused to grapple with the possibility that the world had achieved, not peace, but an uneasy truce.

As the campaign drew to a close Nixon was saying "our opponents are having great difficulty finding issues." Actually he was on the defensive, painting a synthetic state of euphoria and having difficulty avoiding issues. In the Midwest he refused to mention Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson, farm parity prices or flexible price supports. At Cornell University, where a group of college editors hammered hard at suggestions that there was inconsistency between his voting record and his current campaign speeches, he answered in platitudes. On McCarthyism, when asked if he favored a resumption of Senate probing, he could only insist the Eisenhower Administration had taken the security issue out of politics.

It was Nixon's good fortune that the public was as little interested in the issues as he was in discussing them. His appeal continued to be essentially emotional or evangelistic. He avoided mention of the Republican platform or the program the party would put forward if elected. His argument from beginning to end was that President Eisenhower was the greatest man alive and should be re-elected to assure continued peace, prosperity and progress. It was not a thesis to set the countryside afire, but Nixon was no longer a firebrand. His was a more modest role.

A newsman in Buffalo captured the tone of the Vice President's 1956 campaign. Questioning a staffer, he pried out an admission that Nixon had explicitly vetoed use of Cadillacs or other big cars in his motorcades!

In the upshot, it was an easy Eisenhower victory. The margin was more than nine million popular votes: 35,590,472 for Eisenhower; 26,029,752 for Stevenson.

But the fears of party professionals had been well grounded. The Democrats held their control in the Senate, 49 to 47; and picked up another two seats in the House. Thus, notwithstanding a Presidential sweep of landslide proportions, the Republican Party could not win at the state and district level. It had tried the hard sell without success in '54, and it had no better results in '56 using both a soft sell and the Eisenhower magic. From the Vice President's point of view, looking ahead to 1960, the returns were ambiguous.

NEXT WEEK: *A look at Nixon's performance as a Congressman from California*

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Soviet Books Five Years After the Thaw

by George Gibian

There is more difference of opinion and taste in Russian literary life than one might conclude from what the Soviet press considers fit to print. Mikhail Sholokhov's sour, even catty remarks about Boris Pasternak during his visit to the United States as part of Khrushchev's suite gave us only one small glimpse of the internecine squabbles among Soviet writers. But thanks to the fact that tourism and letter-writing are now less restricted in the USSR, we are able for the first time in years to form a fairly accurate impression of what the various Russian reading publics think of the literature available to them.

The higher up the scale of literary sophistication one goes among Soviet readers, the less interest one finds in contemporary Soviet literature generally. A very small, sophisticated minority prefers Kafka and Rilke. A somewhat larger group reads the classics, from Shakespeare and Goethe through Dostoevsky and Flaubert. Conversation among literary intellectuals generally centers around foreign works. The few copies of works by modern Western poets and novelists enjoy a lively circulation, from hand to hand.

Better-educated Soviet readers are likely to read non-fiction, including literary criticism, almost as much as fiction, and a great many of the essays and scholarly works they read now deal with the 1920's. In general, the writers of today are likely to hold that the culture of the 1920's was much superior to what followed after 1928, when the Five Year Plans began. They will extol those writers of the 1920's whose works until recently were suppressed – Isaac Babel, Yuri Olesha and others. They will rewrite literary history in order to lower the standing of the writers who had been considered model "socialist realists," and to elevate others. Finally, they will pull out of the literary closet such skeletons as Maxim Gorky's disagreements with Mayakovsky, the fact that Mayakovsky wrote many modernistic and futuristic poems, or the political harassment which made Mayakovsky's last years so miserable. References in print to subjects of this kind give Soviet readers a sense of exhilarating novelty.

This explains the strange fascination for Soviet readers of a recent scholarly work, *New Mayakovsky Materials*, a huge volume of collected essays. One article discusses Mayakovsky's metaphors, imagery, and other stylistic devices, proceeding in a manner far more "formalistic" (literary, technical) than is customary among Soviet critics. Another article refers at several points to Lenin's unfavorable comments on Mayakovsky's work – the great Lenin showing a lack of appreciation for Stalin's Poet Laureate! The whole volume appears to have been prepared without regard to the possibility of censorship.

While some Soviet writers are busily filling lacunae in their country's history, another group is fighting this trend and resisting the "rehabilitations" of Marina Tsvetaeva, Isaac Babel, and other writers condemned under Stalin. They argue that these writers of the twenties were not as good as today's anti-Stalinists make them out to have been, and that the twenties, far from being a culturally superior era, were surpassed by the achievements of the "socialist realism" officially promulgated in 1932. Various official Soviet publications are continually expressing fears about the penetration of "foreign ideology." The Soviet press frequently feels constrained to answer and attack articles in Yugoslav and Polish publications, some of which enjoy a Soviet circulation unparalled by other foreign periodicals. Any questioning anywhere of the doctrines of "socialist realism" is almost certain to provoke a sharp reply in Moscow.

In September, 1958, an international congress of Slavic scholars was held in Moscow. The influx of hundreds of foreign specialists, most of whom gave public lectures, apparently disturbed the authorities, for they spent some weeks in extensive "ideological preparation." Nevertheless, Professor Hugh McLean of Harvard gave a Freudian interpretation of Gogol – the first Freudian literary analysis heard in Russia for a long time; Leon Stilman of Columbia challenged the stereotyped Soviet views of Pushkin's realism; a Dutch scholar applied a "formalistic" method of criticism to Dostoevsky. The Soviet defense against such foreign ideological impurities took the form of previously prepared rebuttals by assigned "opponents," and after the Congress, replies to the foreign lectures were published.

Nonetheless, evidence that Soviet scholars follow Western opinion with great care is supplied in a recent issue of the Soviet scholarly journal, *Russian Literature*. Here we find a remarkably full survey, equipped with bibliographical references, of American publications on Soviet literature. Almost all the articles and books cited and briefly summarized are strongly attacked as anti-Soviet propaganda; yet one wonders about the actual effect of the bibliographical footnotes which list scores of American works.

Some studies of pre-Revolutionary and Western literature by Soviet writers have also aroused great attention. One of them is by Ilya Ehrenburg, whose career has been synonymous with political and geographic meandering. Some Russians consider him the world's most astute literary opportunist. The postwar years saw him in the sordid role of Stalinist apologist; yet in the period of de-Stalinization, it was he who gave the title *The Thaw* to his dissident, anti-Stalinist novelette, and he has now definitely associated himself with the liberal wing among the Soviet writers.

A couple of years ago Ehrenburg caused an uproar with his provocative article, "Lessons of Stendhal," which called for the kind of literary realism that the Kremlin surely does not wish and which by implication opposed political control over the arts. Now Ehrenburg has returned to the debate with

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two articles called "Rereading Chekhov." Ehrenburg attributes Chekhov's greatness not, as Soviet encyclopedias have it, to his analysis of decadent pre-Revolutionary social conditions, but to his individual qualities: he was a truthful, sincere artist who wrote from the heart about individual human beings. Ehrenburg also tackles two questions which suggest the glaring loopholes in the official Leninist view of literature: Why may a writer who provides progressive, correct social analyses still be inferior to a contemporary who gives no such social interpretations? And why do the people of Soviet Russia in 1959, living under very different conditions than those described in Chekhov's plays and stories, still find his works of great relevance and interest?

It was in this literary atmosphere that the Third Congress of the Soviet Writers Union was held from May 18 to May 23, 1959. Pasternak's neighbor and reputed friend, Konstantin Fedin, the patriarch of Soviet letters, was elected secretary of the Writers Union, replacing the rabid Alexei Surkov. Khrushchev once again surrendered to the temptation to make a speech. His address was adorned with quotations from various poems, some of them quite atrocious. His tone was chatty, rambling, and confidential. He repeatedly admitted that he was not a literary critic and hence should not try to tell writers how to write, but then proceeded to do so anyway. He also promised several times that he did not want to name names, and then referred to many writers by name. He spoke of Dudintsev's *Not By Bread Alone*, which he had read. Dudintsev, said Khrushchev, was trying to attack several things in Soviet life which he himself also disliked, but the novelist erred by "exaggerating and generalizing." "I wanted to have a talk with him," Khrushchev said about Dudintsev, "but there was never enough time for it. Whenever I was about to receive him, I had to meet either an ambassador or some delegation." Nevertheless, Khrushchev went on: "Dudintsev never was and is not an opponent of the Soviet system." Thus one of the main culprits of 1956 was unequivocally cleared by the highest authority.

The writers themselves, Khrushchev said, must be responsible for literary criticism. They should not imagine that someone will "come with two bags, in one of which he has candy, in the other bitter pills, and he will hand out a piece of candy to one man, two pieces to another, a bitter pill to a third. It will be better if you yourselves both hand out the candy and receive the pills. . . . You may say, 'Criticize us, control us; if a work is wrong, don't print it.' But you know, it is not so easy to make out what should be printed and what should not. The easiest way out is to print nothing. Then no mistakes will be made, and it will look as if the man who forbade the printing is an intelligent man. But that would be stupid."

Khrushchev's purpose in adopting this genial tone was apparently to show the writers that despite the stern words against Pasternak and a year earlier against Margarita Aliger and Dudintsev, the regime does not wish to be regarded as a stern, punitive judge, but rather as a benevolent father who prefers to be gentle and amiable. Quite apart from the question of government policy, the fact that Khrushchev wishes to create the impression of friendliness is obviously significant.

Of the many books published in Russia in the last year and a half, three novels have caused the most stir, each for a different reason.

Vera Panova's *Sentimental Novel*, the best of the three, is largely a flash back to life in Southern Russia in the early 1920's – a period which Panova sees through a haze of nostalgia. The times she recreates are disorderly, almost chaotic, and many of her characters are weaklings or criminals; illness, hunger, poverty cause great suffering; yet life is rich and full of movement. By comparison, the Soviet Union of the 1950's, with its trolley buses and tall apartment buildings, seems dull and lusterless, as Panova portrays it.

The world of Panova's flash back is a world in which excitement and romance were supplied not only by the idealism of early Bolshevism, but, even more, by the "men of the past": ex-professors, ex-capitalists, old women in furs. Panova uses much local color to recreate the spirit of the 1920's; the vagaries of literary taste ("Cosmos was in fashion . . . we are pregnant with new words"), slang, and diction (cinemas called "biograf," films with the feminine ending "filma"). The young men and women in her novel seem perpetually excited, arguing about their new life. May one wear make-up, perfume, silk stockings? Who is the best poet of the day?

Panova makes much of love – falling in love, out of love, affairs, pregnancies, abortions. The political drama also figures significantly, but although many pages describe the Bolshevik struggle against the Whites, Panova does not seem to be writing with one eye on the censor. For both the author and her readers, the book is a flight into the past, and typifies the escapism which has colored much recent Soviet writing.

Vsevolod Kochetov's *The Yershov Brothers* is very different. The quickest way to describe it is to say that it is an upside-down version of the main "critical" works of 1956, chiefly Ilya Ehrenburg's *The Thaw* and Vladimir Dudintsev's *Not By Bread Alone*. Kochetov apparently wishes to show that whatever Ehrenburg and Dudintsev had done, he can do in reverse. *Not By Bread Alone*, for example, glorified an inventor who was frustrated by the men in power, but who was ultimately vindicated while his opponents were exposed. The inventor in *The Yershov Brothers*, on the other hand, is an impostor. Although he claims to be the victim of persecution, in reality he is a neurotic criminal who resorts to fraud. A Communist Party official, Gorbachev, is Kochetov's hero. He never takes a vacation, gives his whole life to the Party, is slandered by his enemies, and dies of a heart attack – a Soviet martyr.

Russian readers in the know can easily tick off the various anti-"revisionist" thrusts Kochetov has succeeded in making within a single novel: here goes the new theatrical repertory, there goes socialist realism *vs.* impressionism in painting, here is an attack on Aleshin's *Odna*, there on Ehrenburg's *Thaw*. Kochetov's villains throughout are the intellectuals who took "de-Stalinization" as an invitation to "bourgeois democracy" and a "nihilistic spirit."

Daniel Granin's *After the Wedding* stands somewhere between the *Sentimental Novel* and *The Yershov Brothers*. It is the story of Tanya and Igor, newlyweds who move out to a backward rural district to help the farmers. Granin presents personal life and social concerns, urban and rural, industrial and agricultural issues. The title, suggesting a novel of family life, is a mis-

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nomer, but some passages make the reader regret that Granin did not concentrate on psychological analyses. He is capable of taking a close, direct, honest look, in the Tolstoyan tradition, at what people think and feel. Particularly powerful is the account of Tanya's trip to the wilds of the countryside, where she sees the horror of impoverished rural life, becomes fearful, has nightmares. The passage is a revelation of the adverse conditions of the Russian villages, but it is also a remarkable fictional recreation of a woman's fright.

This scene, however, is balanced by another one, which is all the more ridiculous because it is meant as a climax of heroism. Igor goes out to the hinterlands to repair a broken down tractor, and breaks a leg in the dark. Quite unnecessarily, he refuses to be taken to the hospital and, writhing on the ground in pain, spends hours giving a woman step-by-step instructions on repairing the tractor. It is hard to believe that Soviet readers will find this artificial, gratuitous scene any less humorous than would Westerners.

The three novels – one escapist but implicitly critical of present conditions, the second blatantly propagandist, the third a talented attempt to be both realistic and "positive" – convey a good picture of the literary situation today, five years after the celebrated "thaw" and two years after the "re-Stalinization."

The majority of new books are politically correct, but sickeningly dull; there are also, however, a few unusual, daring, honest, personal works that are now permitted to be published, even when they are devoid of any orthodox social tendency. The Russian reader's imagination is no longer being starved as it used to be, and perhaps from the imaginative rendering of life in such literature a deeper cultural and social experience may yet be born.

The Surface of Things

by J. M. Edelstein

Marguerite Duras is, undoubtedly, one of the most widely known of the contemporary school of "revolutionary" French writers. An earlier novel, *Un barrage contre le Pacifique*, which was published in English as *The Sea Wall*, was made into a successful film; a dramatization of *The Square* is scheduled for an off-Broadway production; and her screenplay *Hiroshima, mon amour*, was considered one of the best French movies of 1959. In *The Square*, Marguerite Duras is again typical of a generation for whom experience is only the action related, whose serenity is achieved by acceptance, and for whom the novel can only be a fragmentary, swift, broken reflection of their times.

The Square, by Marguerite Duras
translated by Sonia Pitt-Rivers
and Irina Morduch
(Grove, $3.50; paper-bound, $1.45)

All that happens in *The Square* is that a young man and a young woman meet in a public garden. They share the same bench, they are lonely, they talk and then they part. The man is a traveller, he sells whatever he can carry in his suitcase; the girl is a servant. This is what we know about them, nothing more, not their names, nor what they look like. Their dialogue is the "novel."

Neither character is ever made substantial, the outcome, if any, is not only inconsequential but predictable from the first, yet this book has the fascination of eavesdropping; for the technique follows the direction of ordinary conversation: two lonely strangers using words to find out something about each other – faltering, plain, everyday words, but through which they accomplish some awareness and a suggestion of the future, and the hope that because it *is* tomorrow, tomorrow may be unlike today.

Divided into three sections – chapters? – each section begins with "The child came over quietly from the far side of the Square and stood beside the girl." The child announces "I'm hungry," "I'm thirsty," "I'm tired," in that order. His announcements are important; they are the only reminder of time and they underscore the basic demands on the lives of both the girl and the man, which are among the few things we really know about them. Occasionally, their dialogue is interrupted with a brief description of the weather that emphasizes the growing relationship between the two. The weather is important to people who spend much time on park benches; it colors their moods: "A wind had risen, so light it seemed to carry the summer with it . . . 'Yes,' said the girl, . . . 'I suppose I will go on as I am. Yes, I think I will'." Or, "There was a silence between them. The sun, which had been hidden by the clouds, came out again. Then the girl started once more." In time the parting comes, as we know it must. Perhaps they will meet again; the possibility is there. But during their talk, two human beings have realized the existence of each other. And this, the novel says, is enough.

This simple resolution of *The Square*, the second of Marguerite Duras' novels to be translated into English, places it in the established category of the French post-Existentialist "new novel," the most vital theory of which is that the surface of things, of objects, is more meaningful than the character of human beings, their motivations and intent. Such an approach to fiction has had its most popular expression, at least in English translation, in the novels of Alain Robbe-Grillet and Michel Butor, in both the novels and plays of Samuel Beckett and in the theater of Eugène Ionesco and Arthur Adamov. In *The Square* Marguerite Duras attempts to go even further than her contemporaries. Not even the object is, in this novel, any longer a matter of substance. She has written a novel of surfaces. It needs nothing else but the words that give it its body and is comparable to the modern paintings in which the deliberate omission of any recognizable object or design may be discerned.

What does it mean? Certainly there is no philosophy here. Everything *is*, and one is neither for nor against. Life is as it is "with no meaning outside itself like being ill or a child. And so it must come to an end."

Germaine Brée and Margaret Guiton in their *An Age of Fiction*, a study of the contemporary French novel, put the problem as "rather how to live than how to understand life." And one solution, if my reading of *The Square* is correct, is to strive continually for the human connection which will make life more than terminology of facts and forms, make of it an expression of that personal center that names never reach.

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Chester Bowles' Optimism

by Samuel H. Beer

After the last session of Congress, to talk of a coming political breakthrough by American liberalism may sound visionary. But Chester Bowles, who sat in that Congress and who has had extensive experience of how elections are won or lost, offers us this hope. It is a hope, a real chance, not a certainty. For he is no determinist and writes not a forecast of what must come to pass, but rather an analysis of what may happen, if people will think creatively and choose rationally.

The Coming Political Breakthrough
by Chester Bowles
(Harpers; $3.75)

His faith that they can do so is breathtaking. No old-time Progressive ever expected more of the democratic process and of the common man. His analysis is not concerned with how the demands of various interest groups might be combined in a winning coalition; nor with the social conditions that alienate the voter from, or attach him to, the existing order; nor with the power of propagandists to manipulate the sentiments of the public. He is concerned primarily with the staggering problems that challenge freedom and with the response that we ought to make. In short, he is interested in problems and policies – and believes the voter is too.

According to his "theory of political growth," the voter's concern with great national questions is the main driving force in the rhythm of American political history. Each cycle begins as new needs emerge and unsolved problems accumulate. Gradually, public opinion turns toward new ideas. To this emerging consensus leaders of the opposition party respond, giving it voice and direction. Ultimately they win power and are rewarded for their "social and economic inventiveness" by a long period of dominance, during which the other party also comes to accept the new outlook. Mr. Bowles finds three such breakthroughs in our history, each marked by a Presidential election: that of Jefferson in 1800, of Lincoln in 1860, of Roosevelt in 1932. The election of 1960 he thinks may be "the decisive election of the century," leading to "a brilliant new period of political creativeness." He believes that the Democrats, the traditionally liberal party, are the most likely instrument for this breakthrough.

The "enormous problems now crowding in on us" proceed from three simultaneous revolutions: the revolution of rising expectations among the poor – and colored – people of Asia, Africa and Latin America; the industrial and technological revolution that has made Soviet Russia the second greatest power; the revolution in weapons that confronts the world with the possibility of nuclear suicide. From the American perspective, each of these is a revolution in foreign affairs and it is to the need for a corresponding revolution in our foreign policy that Bowles gives primacy.

In our relations with Russia and China, he does not believe that any settlement of the fundamental issues can be expected "for some time," although local adjustments, such as the Austrian peace treaty, are possible. We need, therefore, to maintain "a tough, but flexible defense barrier" to deter both massive nuclear attack and localized aggression. We should work steadily and constructively for a meaningful disarmament agreement. But "our central aim" must be "to help the less developed nations create the conditions of freedom." That is only applying the lesson of our own national experience, in which each renewal of our national purpose has been inspired by the striving for freedom. In this aspiration we can find common ground with other peoples. From it we can derive standards that enable us to stand not only for peace, but also for peace with justice. Directed and inspired by it, our programs of assistance may in time create the global conditions that will make possible the settlement of the fundamental questions at issue between us and the Communist world.

A major strength of the book is that, while in no sense neglecting the harsh facts of military power, it comprehends the tactics and strategy of the era of competitive coexistence. In this era our relations with the underdeveloped countries are not just a side-show, but the central arena of foreign policy. Only if and when the issue is settled *there* in favor of freedom may the fundamental questions between the two great power blocs be peacefully liquidated.

But can a Presidential candidate talk this kind of language to the American public and still, as Mr. Bowles contends, win votes? Surely he is right in claiming that it can be done. The politics of coalition-building and of appeals to interest groups will, no doubt, play its part in either party's victory in 1960. So also will the sloganeering and gimmicks of the public relations experts. Yet it is only sober realism to recognize that in millions of voters there is a quantum of political motivation which draws its energy from a sense of national community and which a rational restatement of national purpose can release. This does not mean that the appeal must be made to idealistic self-sacrifice and against material self-interest. At stake is both survival and the things that make survival worth while.

But if the right leader is found and the breakthrough is made, can we expect it to rival in importance the great epochs of Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt with which Mr. Bowles makes comparison? This question obliges one to report a curious disproportion in the book. Mr. Bowles' rhetoric is bold, but when one looks at his ideas in detail, one must be struck by his caution.

No liberal will take serious exception to what he says on civil rights, economic growth, urban renewal, aid to education, conservation and so on. But it is only in contrast with the mediocrity of public policy in recent years that anyone would think his proposals "provocative" – to use the word that recurs in the dust-jacket comments by eminent politicians. He does not even raise many of the central questions: Why do we need a strong and growing labor movement and what role should it play in our economy and society? Are we satisfied with the performance and content with the irresponsible power of big business? How are we to get not only more production, but also the production of the particular goods and services we need to serve our National purposes at home and abroad? And can we do this without taking more seriously the idea of economic planning? Even in Mr. Bowles' discussion of foreign affairs, one can wish that more searching questions had

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been asked. The United Nations gets its nod of approval, and we are urged to use it so far as possible in channeling aid to poor countries. But how are the other rich nations of the free world to be brought into this effort and the action of each coordinated with that of all? This at least deserves to be considered, even if it may touch the sensitivities of national sovereignty.

In the 1960's, we may, as we have done before, simply back into a new era under the pressure of crisis. We must thank Mr. Bowles for his reminder that by forethought we may be able to regain control of our national destiny.

TELEVISION

The Real Scandal in Television

In all the furor over the television frauds, no one has suggested investigating the longest, most continuous, and crudest scandal of all: programs for children. The latest calculation of Professor Paul Witty of Northwestern University, who has been conducting continuing surveys on child TV-watching since 1950, gives the average as 22-and-a-half hours a week, a bit higher than three hours a day. His figures are for children under high-school age, but the younger the child, the longer the period of viewing (the viewing declines to 12 hours a week when they reach their teens, presumably because of loss of interest or under the pressure of homework). Certainly his estimate is realistic, when you consider that A. C. Nielsen reports that the typical American home has TV turned on for six hours a day, seven days a week, that in Boston more people are estimated to own television sets than telephones, and that in the city of Baltimore there are more television sets than there are bathtubs.

What are all these children spending all these hours watching? Here are a few of the programs available in a current listening week, summarized by *TV Guide*. *Rin Tin Tin:* "Rin Tin Tin encounters a delirious sea captain lost in the desert." *Brave Stallion:* "While Joey and his friend Pete are on a hunting trip, they are surprised by an escaped criminal who takes Pete hostage." *Hawkeye:* "A young Army lieutenant, whose family has been wiped out by Indians, nurses a bitter hatred for the red man." *Sheriff of Cochise:* "The payroll of a logging company is stolen." *African Patrol:* "Murder on a highway in Nairobi." *The Plainsman:* "A man who lives in the mountains kills a young girl." *Superman:* "The Machine that could plot crime." And, of course, "Who's the man with the fastest gun? Bat Mas-ter-son!"

Not the sponsors and not the advertising agencies, but the networks ultimately decide program content. Let me, with *TV Junior Guide* at my elbow, brief them on how they are meeting their programming responsibility.

High on the rating list are the "adventure stories": *The White Hunter, Sheena, Jungle Jim,* and others. Their common denominator is the superiority of the white West over earlier civilizations. To be sure, not all the Africans portrayed are head-hunters; there is an occasional bright native who is taken up as number-one boy and who desires nothing more than to follow master for the rest of his burden-toting days. Here, also approved, are the cartoon series, gaily packaged under such titles as *The Magic Clown, Fun Shop, Terrytoons, Whirlybirds.* In these, mayhem is more fully packed to the square inch than anywhere else. In the Westerns, the swirling dust of galloping hooves and blazing gunsmoke dissolve to disclose the male animal, all-powerful, all-brave, all-brains, and the frail female laying her cap-trap for him. In the family shows – "this might be the story of you and your next-door neighbors" – the pendulum swings to the other extreme, with Mother as all-wise and Daddy as a dumb schnook.

And on top of all this rubbish comes the commercial, tucked adroitly into the package. No, darling, that's not the fairy princess, that glow around Shirley Temple's head is from the Breck Hair Spray the lady is demonstrating.

What does a parent do? Try explaining to a three-year-old that yes, grown-ups are truthful, of course they mean what they say, and you should have confidence in them and obey their instructions, but not when you see them on a television program.

After being absent for three years, the Ding Dong School is back on the air, with Miss Frances agreeing to recommend all twenty sponsors personally. On other programs, where children show signs of resistance to the adult come-on, their own peer group is brought in. Eight-year-old Teddy and Linda, freckle-faced, white and Protestant, smile broadly: "Say, kids, be sure to ask your folks for this Coney Island Fun Machine. If they're real folks, they'll be glad to get it for you. It's real keen." It's a hideous plastic bowl into which you drop non-plastic genuine nickels and out comes a charm. Price, $12.98. A few years ago this same program offered toys, just as shoddily constructed, for $1.98. One cartoon program offers a prize for little girls of a real mink stole, "just like

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mommy's." Automobile agencies and banks have begun to sponsor children's programs. Variety relates the success saga of *Jeff's Collie*, broadcast in 167 areas, including Honolulu. "One of the big pitches to stations and sponsors is the all-family appeal of the show, backed by a rating and advertising roster. . . . Among the representative sponsors currently riding the show are a wide sampling of advertisers pitching strictly to the adult trade. Roster includes Pearson Ford, San Diego, First National Bank of Oregon, Miami Security Bank and Trust Co." As these children's programs are constructed to appeal to the adult market as well, the dialogue gets more and more sophisticated, the situations less and less suitable for youngsters.

The argument is offered that kids like those programs. I submit that they like them only because they're rarely given a chance to see anything else. In Orwell's *1984* the inhabitants of Oceania are content with their lot because they are never given an opportunity to come in contact with any other country. But suppose children really do like what they now see; are they the best judges? Many children would prefer to read nothing but comics; yet the publishing business has not capitulated as the television industry has done to the lowest common denominator in taste. Fifteen thousand new titles were published last year, a record high; of more significance, many were worthwhile juvenile reading. Why not adapt for television some of the Landmark series of Random House, the Real Books of Garden City, the Aladdin series edited by Emma Gilders Sterne? Historical fiction and biography for children these days is often better than that aimed at adults. There is Dorothy Sterling's *Captain of the Planter* that I guarantee would win a parents' award – and enthusiastic response from children if presented on television. The library of Dr. Seuss would bring the pre-school set in droves to whatever channel produced such a series. There are also the fantasies of Thurber and E. B. White to draw on, McCloskey's Centerburg Tales, the stories by Carolyn Haywood about Eddie. I know . . . the pre-schoolers don't spend money, but is that the decisive fact?

Science books for young people are improving all the time, but where are they on TV? There should be twenty Mr. Wizard programs, and some Mrs. Wizard shows, too. The field of science-fiction for the young has imaginative and humorous plots that plead for the camera to take over: Ruthven Todd's Space Cat adventures, Eleanor Cameron's Mushroom Planet series, the giddy doings of Miss Pickerel on Mars, in the Arctic, and under the sea; Danny Dunn with his anti-gravity paint and homework machine. There is material in books such as these to supply children's programming for many seasons to come – to say nothing of the vast backlog of fairy tales, folk tales and children's classics. It is outrageous that only one fairy tale is presented a month, and that with six commercials interspersed. Is it completely without significance that the man who was the former director of the children's theater in the old Federal Theatre Project and who adapted Pinocchio and Hansel and Gretel for television, committed suicide shortly after he was informed that the sponsor was going to switch the following month to a show based on the Floradora girls?

Recently I was taken on a tour of the special-effects department of one of the country's leading networks. Their engineers boasted proudly that there is no effect today beyond their technical grasp, that no writer need be limited in what he writes for the medium. It was not idle boasting; they demonstrated some of their effects in a half-hour film prepared for potential advertisers. A woman shrank to doll-size before your eyes, then expanded into a giant. Inanimate objects flew in the air. What a treasure house for children, I thought, and mentioned it to the guide. He looked surprised. "Why yes, I suppose you could, if the sponsor wanted it."

If the sponsor wanted it! What would happen if children's programs were not sponsored? Do you suppose that the networks and the free enterprise system would really collapse? EVE MERRIAM

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

George Gibian *is a member of the Slavic department of the University of California at Berkeley.* J. M. Edelstein *is a young research scholar who is also a poet.* Samuel H. Beer *is chairman of the Department of Government at Harvard and also chairman of Americans for Democratic Action.* Eve Merriam's *newest book is* Tomorrow Morning.

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

TRB on TV

Sirs:

I beg to take the strongest possible exception to the comments under the heading "T.R.B. from Washington" regarding television (November 9).

Your commentator recounts his impressions on entering a TV studio to take part in some kind of panel program. A TV studio is quite as utilitarian as a city room on a newspaper and the features he makes much of – barn-like appearance, blinding lights, microphones dangling from booms – are necessary commonplaces. The commentator's implication that there is some kind of link between all this and the cheating that has occurred on a few entertainment programs is forced and false.

If your commentator is, as he states, so easily swayed by these features that he feels he might himself easily "fall into the squalid spirit of the thing" and become a quizzling, he should re-examine his own character. We who use TV to recount and examine news and interview public figures feel no such impulse or peril. If he truly found squalor, it is more than possible that he brought it with him; there is none in any TV studio this reporter has ever worked in, and that is a considerable number.

Howard K. Smith
Washington Correspondent
CBS News

Who Goes to College?

Sirs:

I was deeply disturbed by . . . the editorial note "Who Goes to College" in your November 2 issue. You may think that college faculties control admissions; actually in most universities admissions are made by nonacademic professionals using only partly academic criteria and answerable only to the administration.

You pretend to believe that potential leadership is being lost because of the monopoly of the College Entrance Ex-

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amination Board – an absurd fear when you remember that, among others, state and municipal institutions (which educate at least half of our university population) do not use these examinations in the admission of local residents. I do not wish to defend the CEEB or the principle of mechanical examination. Whatever strains of genius its exams may fail to reveal at the top, nevertheless at the bottom they do a proven and reasonable effective job of sorting out before admission students unlikely to get through a college course.

Politically, I find your stand rather perplexing. Anyone who wants to go to college can get in somewhere. The only people who suffer under the present system are the dull children of rich parents, parents that is who can afford to send their children to better schools than their children can get into. Before the CEEB, such parents had much less trouble.... If our society can afford to spend more on higher education, should not you be advocating bigger scholarships for bright children from poor homes rather than the subsidization of extra places for wealthy dullards?

Jacob M. Price
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Sirs:

"Who Goes to College," seems to me a compendium of fallacies and wrongheadedness. It assumes that the College Entrance Examinations are the sole criterion of entry into the "250 elite colleges," whichever institutions these undefined creatures may be....

But what is most irksome about the article is the implied rejection of the "college as a community of scholars, dedicated to the accumulation, preservation and transmission of higher learning." The assumption is that the relationship between scholarship and "creative and responsible leadership" is tenuous. I think this correlation could be proven to be substantial: more so, certainly, than the correlation of the ink blot test and such leadership.

Joseph E. Illick III
Philadelphia, Penna.

In reply:

The New Republic shares the conviction that *educational* standards must be raised, but we doubt that this can be done merely by raising *academic* standards. Faculties across the country are already guaranteeing these standards by flunking out nearly half the students who seek college degrees, and of course we are as enthusiastic as anyone about exams which eliminate these students prior to admission. Our comments on the College Board, however, suggested that as many colleges become more selective, admissions officers might recruit not just those students who will raise the college grade-point average, but also students who will grow up into distinguished alumni. This does not mean recruiting the retarded sons of the rich, any more than it means recruiting only good bets for Phi Beta Kappa.

The Editors.

Southern Protestants & Desegregation

Sirs:

I cannot allow two statements made by Francis Pickens Miller of Virginia in his "Southern Protestants and Desegregation" (November 2) go unchallenged. As a Presbyterian, Miller first writes that "No voices have been clearer than the voices of the large Protestant denominations in their official pronouncements regarding desegregation...." Later he states: "Those interested in forms of church administration will be intrigued by the fact that, on the whole, denominations with representative forms of church government have spoken more effectively in their official pronouncements regarding desegregation than denominations with episcopal forms of government."

The author of the two statements above either is ignorant of or wishes to ignore: (1) the contents of Pope Pius XII's encyclical *Mystici Corporis* (On the Mystical Body of Christ), as well as the 1958 US Catholic Bishops' Message; and (2) the fact that the first Catholic Interracial Council in the United States was founded twenty-five years ago and today there are councils in twenty-eight American cities, with nine in the South including one in Richmond.

Possibly Mr. Miller can tell us what the Presbyterian Synod of Virginia was doing about segregation in the South in 1940, the year the Catholic Committee of the South came into being in Atlanta for the purpose of promulgating the Church's position on human rights.

Frank B. Pesci
Cheverly, Md.

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C. C. Wilson, Director Danville, Illinois

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MISCEGENATION

by MILTON MAYER

THE INTEGRATIONISTS say that the issue is equal educational opportunity. The segregationists say that the issue is sexual intercourse of Negroes with whites and the consequent amalgamation of the races. When the Supreme Court ordered public school desegregation in 1954 the Jackson, Miss., *Daily News* said: "White and Negro children in the same schools will lead to miscegenation." As long as the integrationists go on saying that the issue is nothing civil rights

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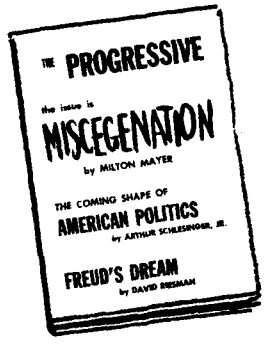

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